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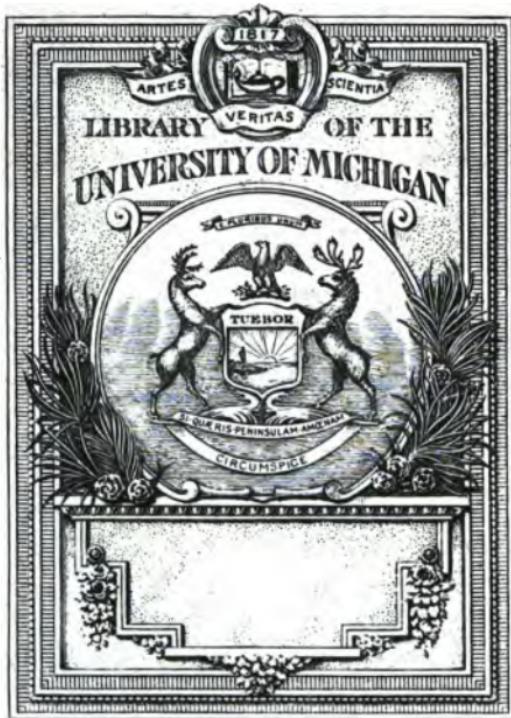
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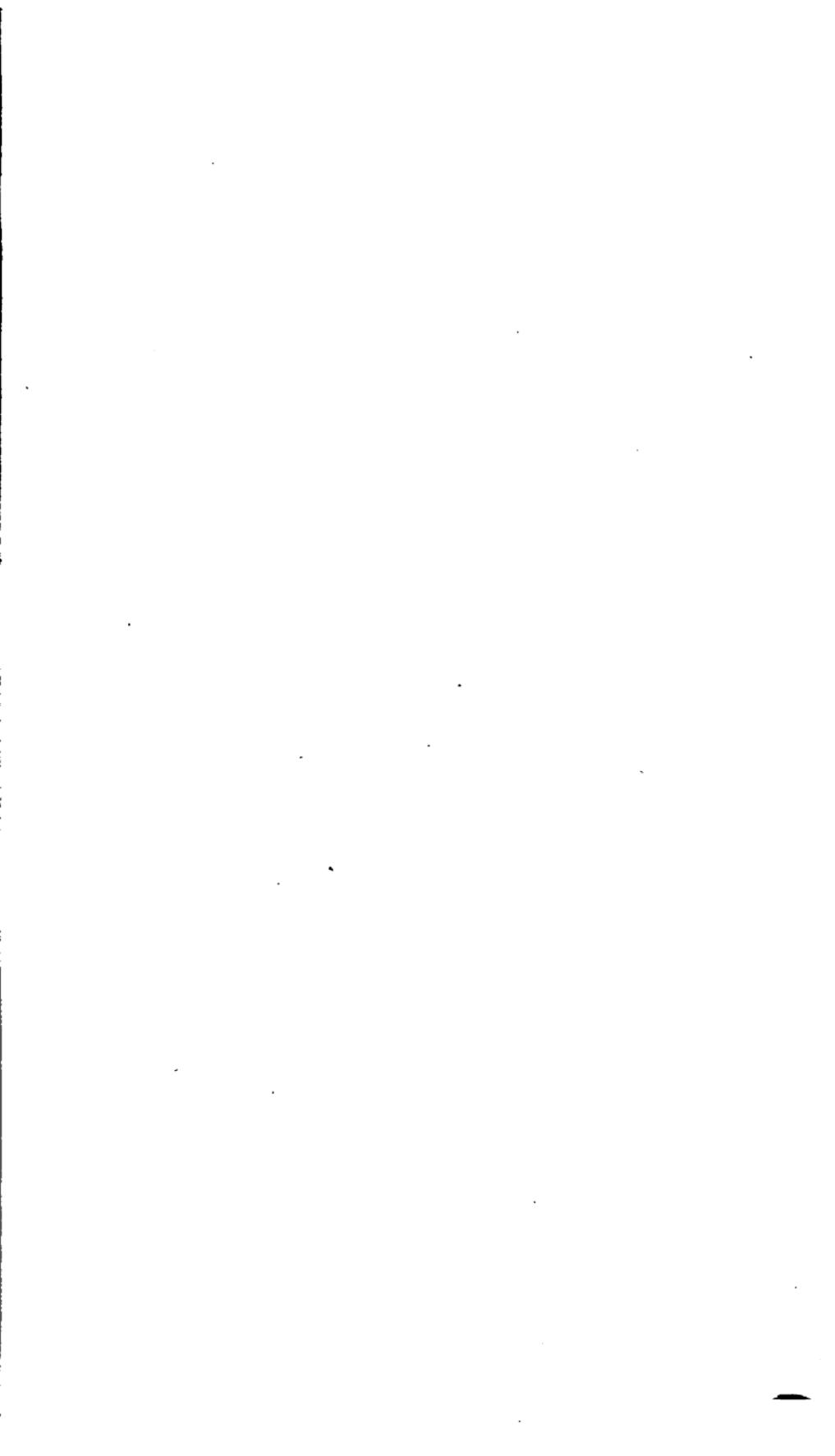
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Bowdler, John,

SOUND AN ALARM, &c.

BY WAY OF

APPENDIX

TO

“REFORM OR RUIN.”

(ONE SHILLING.)



SOUND AN ALARM

TO ALL THE

INHABITANTS OF GREAT BRITAIN,

FROM

THE LEAST TO THE GREATEST;

BY WAY OF

APPENDIX

TO

“REFORM OR RUIN.”

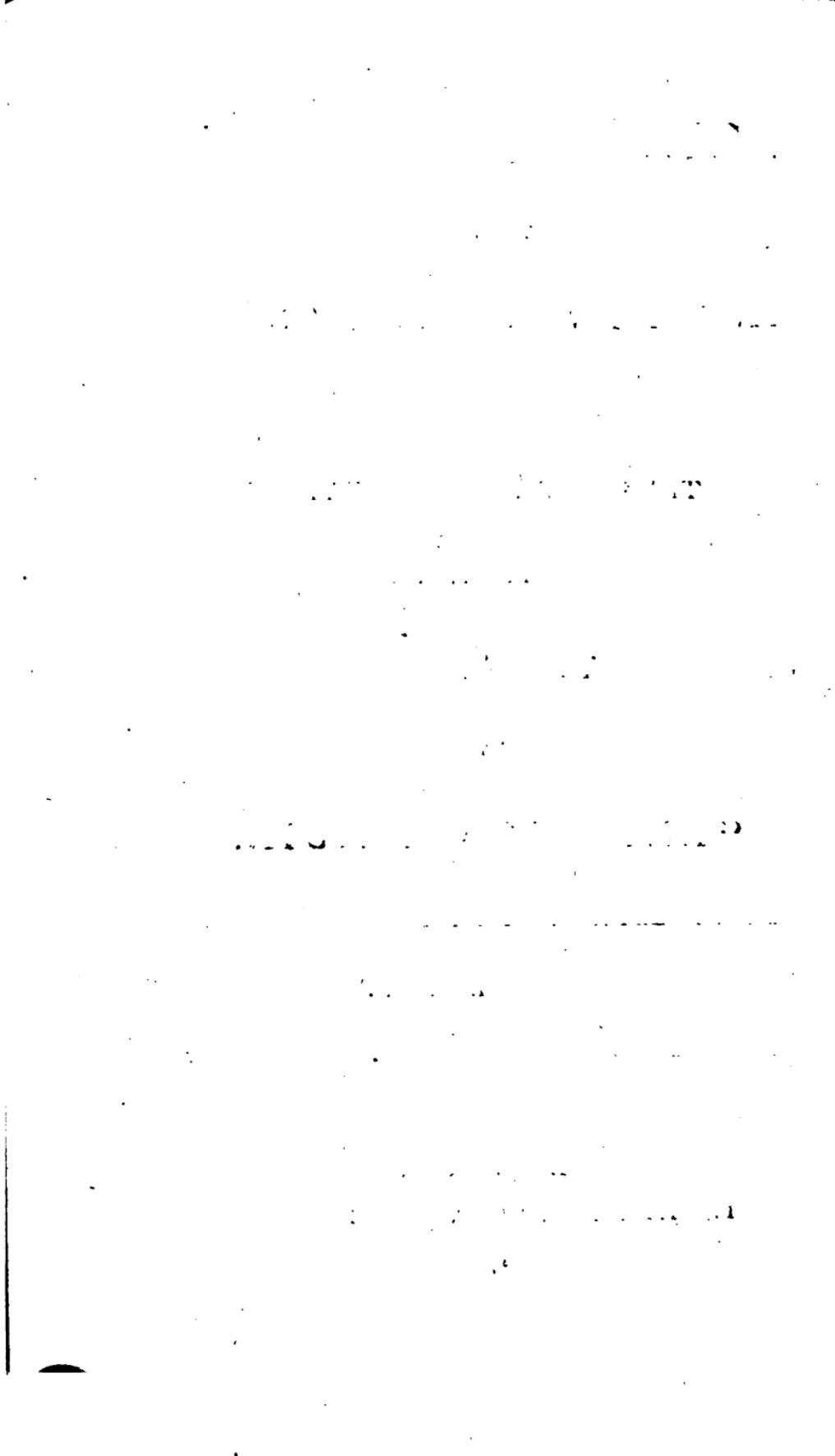
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SOUND AN ALARM, &c.

MY FELLOW COUNTRYMEN,

THE word *Patriotism*, in its proper application, denotes a love for our country, uncorrupted by private and selfish considerations. With this sacred word before me, I now write; upon the idea, that in a season of general danger, no good citizen should withhold his assistance from the public. When the enemy are at our gates, it is not a time for any man to fit with his hands before him. He that cannot fight for his country, may pray for it, or write for it. And when, as Christians, we consider, that the battle is not to the strong, but that it is that Being, who ruleth in

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all the kingdoms of the earth, who can alone set at nought the devices of our adversaries; it is concluded, that the assistance of the contemplative man will not, on the present occasion, be despised. In that character I address you. And to prevent ill-founded prejudice from lessening the effect which might otherwise be produced upon your minds, I set out, as my worthy predecessors in this way of writing, the Author of " Reform or Ruin," and the Bishop of Landaff have done before me, with declaring the independence of my situation, and the sincerity of my intention.

I can say with the *former*, that I have neither place nor pension: that I never was at Court, and it is probable, shall never go there: That I neither know the Ministers, nor those who oppose them,—*personally* I mean: for in that sense, my only acquaintance with them is from their resemblance to their heads in the Print-shops. I cannot, indeed, say with the *latter*, " That I am neither the friend nor enemy of any party in the state." In the critical times in which we live, such a declaration conveys to my mind a sense of political indifference, which, thank God, I do not feel. At the same time therefore, that I give the Bishop credit for many parts of his address, and trust they will be productive of the desired effect,

effect, I must nevertheless declare myself to be a friend to that Party, whose object appears to be the preservation of the Constitution of my country. Such I understand, to be the professed object of our present Governors. It is true, I may be mistaken; for I pretend not to be a Politician. But it has been ever my rule to give men credit for what they profess, when there are no appearances sufficiently strong to justify a contrary conclusion. Charity calls upon me so to do; for "Charity thinketh no evil."

Much indeed has been said, from time to time, of the virtues and abilities of Mr. Fox. I cannot say, that I ever heard any thing either of that Gentleman's religion, or of his morality. And with respect to his abilities, great as they are, they appear to me to be of a kind not absolutely necessary to the salvation of this country. Sir George Saville's opinion of this Gentleman was, " that he was by no means a man of bad principles, nor was he indeed a man of good principles; but a man of no principles at all; a man who by his education had been brought up as a Debater, to take any side of a question, and to have no real opinion about it; in fact, to be an advocate and not a judge: to raise doubts, and to attack opinions without having any decided one

of his own ; a man abounding in eloquence, rather than in wisdom."

I pretend not to judge in this case : Mr. Erskine may ; and in consequence think fit to place this *Champion of Liberty*, as he is called by the 2000 choice spirits who rally round his standard at the Crown and Anchor, at the head of that select band, who can alone save this country from ruin. But it must be eloquence more powerful than that of Mr. Erskine, whatever weight it may have with others, which will convince me, that the man who has not managed his own private affairs with prudence, is the most proper man to be entrusted with those of the public : This country, if it be to be saved at all, will not be saved by noisy declaimers, whose chief object seems to be the drawing the multitude at their heels ; but by wise, considerate, and determined statesmen. How far our present Governors answer to this character I am not competent to judge ; and if I were, to pronounce a judgment on that subject, would be foreign to the design which I have before me.

I am no further a politician than the observation of occurrences as they are publicly recorded, has enabled me so to be. It is not my wish to enter into the Cabinet, or to examine the secret springs by which the actions of

of public men are oft-times set in motion. It may be as well for the credit of some, perhaps that it is not. But a plain man may judge of plain facts ; and so far as those facts speak, he can run little risk in forming some judgement of the party whom they concern. If, for instance, upon information of the French having landed upon the south coast, Bishop Watson should meet a man galloping due north, with the view of hiding himself in some obscure village amid the mountains in Westmoreland, he would not hesitate to put him down for an errant poltroon. And when I see Mr. Fox, accompanied by his *wordy* troop, deserting his duty in the Senate, at a season when the situation of his country calls upon every man for the exertion of his best abilities, I must confess that I form no high idea of this gentleman's patriotism. It strikes me as something like saying to the public, if I am not permitted to manage the reins, the coach may overturn. When I follow this gentleman into the Crown and Anchor, the temple where the Idol is set up, and consider the character of the worshippers, and attend to the *lascivious* service performed there ; I have no doubt in my mind with respect to the politics of this gentleman. If he has adopted the motto, "*aut Cæsar aut nullus*," which, as I am writing to the general understanding of my countrymen, I translate by the vulgar phrase of "*Neck or nothing.*" I must confess

confess that I see reason with the late celebrated Mr. Burke, who knew this gentleman better than I do, to be afraid of him.

His Grace of Norfolk, I understand, has already chosen a * *new sovereign*; and has held out the Revolution in America as a pattern for imitation; the idea, I presume, meant to be conveyed to the chosen band assembled at the Crown and Anchor. With an abundance of hereditary nobility possessed by his Grace, I fear that much hereditary wisdom has not been handed down to him. He would not otherwise have deserted the true fountain of honour, to have paid his court to the Majesty of the People; and exchanged the levees at St. James's, for those at any other places of more popular rendezvous. But if the noble Duke has a vulgar taste, I have no right to quarrel with him on that account. It was born with him perhaps; and on that consideration his Grace is to be pitied. The circumstance furnishes only one proof among many, that exalted dignities and exalted minds do not always accompany each other. I can have no objection to his Grace taking Messrs. Tooke and Thelwall, persons who have been tried for high

* This refers to the toast given by his Grace, at the Anniversary of Mr. Fox's Birth-day, at the Crown and Anchor Tavern.—Vide the account in the Public Papers.

treason,

treason, for his companions. I would only whisper in his ear, that when he has served their purpose, they will laugh at him for his folly; and by way of reward for his service, in a paroxysm of democratic zeal, may perhaps pride themselves in trampling his blushing honours in the mire. And upon the supposition that we are to be revolutionized, should his Grace survive the wreck of his princely fortune, and be permitted to float upon the surface of those troubled waters, which shall in such case deluge the fair face of his country; unless this muddy democratic stream shall possess the quality of purging him from every taint of his hereditary dignity, he best knows what will be his sensation, when he feels himself jostled upon the Bench of an up-start Directory, by a *Cobler*. For in that chaotic state which succeeds a dissolution of Government, when all things are reduced to a certain level, his Grace must not be surprized, if the * *insignia* of his present high office be required to give way to the more effective instrument of incision; in the old Oliverian style, when the mace of senatorial dignity quietly disappeared before an armed soldiery at the door.

* The Duke of Norfolk is hereditary Earl Marshal of England.

His Grace will, I trust, turn this subject in his thoughts; and when he has digested it, he will do a friendly act in communicating the result of his reflections to his brother of Bedford. But let him take a convenient season for the purpose, after his Grace has paid up all his taxes, lest he should be in too discomposed a mood to give attention to the lesson. His Grace of Bedford indeed, and I congratulate him upon the circumstance, has now an opportunity of making amends for all former * defalcations, by coming down with a handsome subscription toward the public exigencies. And should he be called upon to furnish some needy friends with a few rouleaux for the purpose, he will have the satisfaction to think that they might have been furnished upon a less honourable occasion.

But his Grace of Norfolk, it now seems, has been misrepresented, and his meaning grossly perverted. The object which he had in view was to point out the probability of obtaining a Reform in Parliament in a † *Constitutional* way; and in order to

* His Grace of Bedford, the public prints have informed us, has paid a surcharge for omitting to return 25 of his servants.

† See in the public papers Mr. Fox's apology for the Duke of Norfolk, delivered at the Whig Club.

illustrate

illustrate his position, he alludes to a successful event brought about by a very contrary process; even by a forcible resistance of the Government of his Country. Allusions are generally made use of to explain more clearly the meaning of the party who adopts them. But in his Grace's language, they are to be understood as it were *per contra*; the propriety of their application being to be determined by their *non-resemblance* to the subject, which they are brought to illustrate. But I have too much respect for dignities, to wish to dispute the point with his Grace; I shall leave him therefore in quiet possession of his chair at the Whig Club, where it seems his Grace's figurative language is clearly understood.

Nor do I wish to have much more to say to his Champion. That Gentleman, I fear, has committed himself too far to recede. The conduct of such a Politician therefore is not to be argued against, so much as to be watched and resisted. His object, if I am not mistaken in it, is under the fair plea of *reform*, to throw an additional weight into the popular scale of our Government, by which that well-balanced authority, which now constitutes the security and perfection of our Constitution, will be destroyed. For this change in our political system, this Gentleman seems to be continually engaged in preparing the public mind,

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by misrepresenting the principle upon which the Revolution proceeded ; by giving us to understand that our Monarchy is not so much an *hereditary* as an *elective* one. But this Gentleman cannot be so compleatly ignorant of the Constitution of his country, and of what passed at the Revolution, as not to know that the convention, of which he boasts, no more represented, in the idea of those who composed it, the Sovereignty of the people in 1688, than do the 2000 assembled under his direction at the Crown and Anchor speak, rank God, the sentiments of the people in 1798. That doctrine, which this Gentleman is pleased to consider as constituting the basis of the English Government, is not even the *old Whig* Doctrine ; but a doctrine of a spurious breed, which has of late years grown out of it ; by the propagation of which the Revolution, instead of being what it was intended to be, the source of legal hereditary succession, may become the parent of endless national disturbance.

But the people of England are wiser in their generation. They do not feel flattered with a prerogative, which cannot be exercised but at the expence of that security, which they enjoy under a settled Government. They know nothing of the doctrine of *elected* Monarchs, and wish to continue strangers to that modern political absurdity, which

which derives the King's title to his throne from the Sovereignty of the people.

It was to be hoped indeed, that this *Brat of Republicanism* *, Dr. Price's fond dandling some few years since at the Revolution Society, had been so effectually smothered by the overwhelming power of the great Mr. Burke, as to be past all hopes of being warmed into life, by the most strenuous exertions of political friction, administered by state quacks assembled at the Crown and Anchor Tavern.

In our Statute Book honourable mention is made of our Sovereign Lord the King ; but I see no notice taken of our Sovereign Lords the people. I have seen indeed the stage effect produced by two Kings of Brentford ; it does well enough in a play. But I have no passion to see the effect produced in real life by two Kings of England. Mr. Fox must therefore excuse me, if I do not adopt his popular language. When this popular gentleman has got the modelling of his new Go-

* The positions laid down by the late Dr. Price, in his famous Sermon, before the Revolution Society at the Old Jewry, were these :

1. That we have a right to choose our own Governors.
2. To cashier them for misconduct,
3. To frame a Government for ourselves.

vernment in Utopia, he may make what statute book he pleases ; but Englishmen, who know and value the Constitution of their country, do not wish to have their statute book one whit more republicanized than it is.

Indeed, should this popular doctrine be admitted, it is high time for a certain great Personage to look sharp about him. For whilst those who call themselves Patriots, take licence to say what they please, there may be a danger of an old distinction of a King *de jure*, and a King *de facto*, (that is, of a rightful King, and an actual one, though taken in a different sense from that in which this distinction was heretofore used), being revived among us : and George the 3d, by the grace of God (I trust there may be yet no danger in applying that awful word to this subject), may be constrained to sit in empty and inefficient majesty in his palace, whilst some noisy demagogue in the plenitude of executive authority, and with more than imperial dignity, shall be enthroned upon the shoulders of a giddy, ignorant and enslaved people.

But Englishmen will not, I trust, suffer themselves to be either talked or fooled out of their understanding. They have long experienced the blessings of a Constitution, which has given them an

an envied pre-eminence among all civilized nations. They will sit down therefore coolly and count the cost; what they are likely to gain, and what to lose, by becoming instruments in effecting the plans of discontented and ambitious men.

Every rank in society is called upon to take this subject into consideration; more particularly that numerous one, which is most apt to be imposed upon by sounds, I mean the great body of the people; who, because they are honest themselves, and feel what true patriotism means, are least disposed to suspect those, who make use of the word chiefly as a cloak to disguise dangerous designs. But whilst I am engaged in guarding my countrymen against that licentious and unconstitutional language, which is now so frequently made use of, I at the same time feel disposed to think with Bp. Watson, that the most respectable of those who so loudly clamour against Government, still mean well to their country. However mistaken in principle, however defective in judgment, I can never think so meanly of them, as to suppose that they would wish to carry on any plan, for the melioration of the Constitution, under the auspices of a French Directory.

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At the same time I say, because I know, that there is a dark, sectarian, republican spirit now working in this country, like a mole unseen, whose object it is so to undermine the ground upon which the Constitution stands, that in the fulness of time it may sink into utter ruin ; a spirit of the true old Oliverian stamp, which would scruple not to make use of any means, whether English or French, that promised to carry their nefarious purpose into effect.

Alas ! alas ! poor Old England ; the pride and envy of this western world !—What from thy *Quacks in Divinity*, and thy *Quacks in Politics*, who agree precisely in one point, that of speaking evil of dignities, and affecting to be wise above what is written, it is to be feared, if the sons of Constitutional Freedom, the true lovers of Religion, Order and Government, do not stand firm upon their ground, that neither Church nor State will long be found within thy borders. May the valour of the loyal, and the wisdom of the wise, defend us from an event, which will leave to Englishmen nothing, in this world, worth preserving.

Sorry I am that some recent circumstances have inadvertently drawn me astray from my original design. I will immediately return to it, again reminding you, as has been already observed, that the

the ruin of this country can be effected by political reform alone. Much indeed has been said upon this subject from time to time. But if it had been viewed more in a Christian than in a Political light, something might perhaps have been effected. The Bible would have told our State Critics, that the Reform wanted in this country, is not so much a reform in this or that branch of the Legislature; as a reform of principles and practices in every class of the community. Let those therefore, who declaim so loudly upon this subject, turn their thoughts inward upon themselves. Considering that the Reform of a nation is but the aggregate reformation of its component individuals, let every one begin the work at home. We may in such case hope to see better days. The spirit of Christianity being revived among us, the general tone of morals in the community will be raised; and we shall no longer be that corrupt and unprincipled people, which we are at present.

But I fear to enlarge upon this important subject, because it has been already handled in a late excellent pamphlet *, which every man would do well to read. The subject of Reform is mentioned only, because a resolution to carry it into effect

* "Reform or Ruin," by Jno. Bowdler, Esq.

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constitutes the ground-work, upon which all hope of success in our present national exertions must be built. The rich man may subscribe his wealth, and the mighty man put forth his valour, but it is upon the exertions of the Clergy, that the salvation of this country must chiefly depend. If the genuine spirit of Christianity can be revived, the Church will still be suffered to remain among us; and together with it, the most assured protection of that Divine Being who is the head of it. In such case, our enemies will fall before us; and dropping their present insulting language, will in shame and confusion, be constrained to acknowledge, that " This great nation is a wise and understanding people."

But as God, generally speaking, effects his designs by the instrumentality of human means; it becomes Englishmen, at the same time that they are looking up to that Divine Being for the success of their undertakings, strenuously to make use of those means with which they are furnished, and which, under Heaven, are alone calculated to ensure it. As Englishmen, we possess that national dignity of character, that will not suffer us to stoop to the yoke of slavery. A proud, a cruel, an insulting foe is now preparing to put it on our necks. If we will tamely submit to it, the spirit of our forefathers must indeed be departed from us.

us ; we have but to lift up our arm, and this haughty foe will retire from the blow, because he has often experienced the force of it to be irresistible.

The object which I have in view therefore upon this occasion, is not to divide the spirit of the nation between this party and that party ; between Ministers and their opponents ; but to call forth and concentrate the vigour and energy of the British mind to meet the present exigency.— We are all now embarked in one bottom. All who love their country must, in the actual state of it, unite in sentiment. We have to deal with an enemy who will give no peace ; and whose object in continuing the war confessedly is the utter annihilation of the political importance of this country. Their purpose has been openly and repeatedly declared. They are now preparing means to carry it into effect. Intoxicated with success, nothing will satisfy the ambition of this aspiring foe, but to realize the vain dream of Louis the XIVth. by making the French nation the universal governor of Europe. The balance, which heretofore poised the different continental Interests, is destroyed. The five arbitrary kings of the Directory, in the plenitude of despotic authority, now send out their imperial mandates to all surrounding states ; and to compleat their tri-

umph, Old England, hitherto the terror of the French nation, must forsooth be humbled at their feet.

The question, my Countrymen, is not now who shall administer the affairs of Government, but whether we shall have any Government at all: In a word, whether we shall any longer exist as an independent nation---To prepare you, therefore, to weigh in a proper scale the cause which now calls for the most determined national exertion; I shall briefly point out to you the character and design of the enemy we have to deal with, together with the importance of the object which every Englishman has at stake.

It may not be generally known to my Countrymen, those I mean to whom I am particularly addressing myself, that the enemy which now threatens our coast, commenced the mad career in which they are engaged, with the settled design of destroying all Religion and all Governments in the world. A few vain self-sufficient men, falsely called Philosophers, thought that there was no more effectual way to immortalize their names, than by projecting a regular and systematic plan for the abolition of every thing, which, by the best informed reason, had been hitherto held sacred in society. It is not to be wondered

dered at then, that a nation, which openly pulled down the altars of their God, profaned his temples, and grossly vilified the Divine Author of the Christian Religion, should be prepared for the commission of every enormity which can mark the character of fallen man. The consequence has been that a nation, heretofore distinguished as one of the most civilized, is now become the most wild and savage nation in Europe. Brutality, murder, and devastation, have uniformly marked their fatal progress. To demolish every existing establishment, to annihilate order, to disorganize society, to break asunder every bond of civil connection, to destroy all property in every country into which their destructive arms and baneful doctrines have been carried, and to impose their own arbitrary yoke upon every people, that has not had wisdom or resolution to resist them ; such has been the work in which these deliverers of mankind, as they call themselves, have been some time engaged. Under pretence of giving liberty, they have professedly adopted a system calculated to reduce the nations of the earth to a more deplorable state of slavery, than has ever been experienced in the world.

It has been the will of Divine Providence that they have hitherto succeeded. We bow in submission to the dispensation of an all-wise Being.

We know that the wind and storm fulfill his word. And we know, moreover, to our comfort, that he who stilleth the noise of the waves, can, when he pleases, still also the madness of the people.— We trust that the storm, which has been long spreading wide desolation over the face of Europe, if it be permitted to reach our coast, will there spend its fury.

But to this purpose, my Countrymen, we must acquit ourselves like men. The design, which these sons of anarchy have in view, must therefore, be constantly before our eyes. We must prepare to meet those, whose object it is, after having trampled under foot our Religion and our Constitution, to plunder and desolate our country.— This insidious foe will come to *us*, as he has to *others*, with fair words and fine speeches; because he knows he must deceive before he can conquer us. With this view, the hackneyed french terms of Liberty, Equality, Fraternity and the Rights of Man, will be founded in our ears; terms which, when translated into practice, mean Tyranny, Desolation, Plunder and Confusion.— Should these deceivers be permitted to land upon our coast, planting the tree of liberty, will constitute the first scene of their republican farce; and should Englishmen be foolish enough, or wicked enough to join in their blasphemous songs

around

around it; their kind deliverers will give them an immediate specimen of their *fraternizing* system, by plunging a bayonet into their breasts, and proceeding in the new French mode of civilization, to the plunder of houses, and the violation of wives and daughters. Whilst their great and principal object will be, the compleat ruin of a country, which they have never yet been able to conquer.

And during this desolating process, do you expect better treatment than the nations which have already been fools enough to call in their friendly aid? Know, my fellow Countrymen, that for you the bitterest draught of this republican cup is reserved: and should you permit it to be once put to your lips, depend upon it, you will be forced to drink it to the dregs. Should it be possible, after what you have heard, that you can have the least doubt upon your minds with respect to the nature of French Liberty—look into those Countries, where the French theory has been reduced to practice.

It may be only necessary to point out to you what has been done at Venice: These propagators of French Liberty, which in the blasphemous language of modern Whigs, is in its *blest redeeming cause* to unchain the Sons of Freedom in this

this country*,"—had no sooner plundered the City of Venice of every thing valuable, carried away the ships of war, and stripped the arsenal of its military stores, than they prepared to leave the beggared City, in a state of humbled stupefaction at its fallen greatness, to some new possessor. The ink was scarce dry upon the deed which was to mark the æra of their new Constitution, when these deluded converts to French faith, were delivered over by their plundering deluders, to the unconditional dominion of one of the most arbitrary Monarchs; and the STATE OF VENICE was in one short month blotted from the globe.

Similar would be the fate of this country, could the present Rulers of France carry their wishes into effect. An hungry marauding soldiery are now returning to their home, in eager expectation of the bounty promised them at the end of their military career. Bankrupt France is not in a condition to stop their importunate craving. To ward off therefore the consequences attendant upon the unsatisfied demands of a licentious soldiery, they are sent as it were upon a forlorn hope. From the Pisgah of the

* Language used at the last Whig Club. See Public Papers.

Directory, this country is pointed out to them as the *promised land*, which is to furnish the reward of all their toils. Should they gain a footing in it, we know what we have to expect. Like an army of devouring locusts, they will leave no green thing behind them; nor will they quit the land, till it shall be reduced to that state of barrenness, as to require many a long and favourable season to restore it to cultivation. To speak without a figure, their object will be so completely to desolate this country, that it shall not be left in a condition ever to rise again to its present exalted state of national prosperity, and political consequence in Europe. With this view, in revenge for our many victories over them, they will carry away our ships, or destroy them in our harbours. And to prevent us from recovering that envied distinction, the Sovereignty of the Seas, which they know they cannot take from us by fair fighting, they will do, perhaps, as they have done in Flanders; they will cut down every oak tree in our island and transport it to France; because they feel that English Heart of Oak, under the management of English Sailors, constitutes that firm bulwark of our national independence, which has ever bidden them proud defiance. Considering, moreover, that this nation is an hive of bees, industriously employed in gathering sweets from every corner of

of the globe, their next object will be, after having overturned this hive and plundered its contents, if possible, so to destroy its texture, that it shall never be fit for use again. They have already succeeded so far as almost to prevent every nation from dealing with us. And should they once attain that desired object of their ambition, the mastery of the seas, the sun of England will be set to rise no more. When our commerce shall be at the mercy of an haughty and imperious rival, the question will no longer be, how far the industry of this country may be carried; but, alas! how far the fruits of it may be permitted to be enjoyed.

In this condition of things, when our commerce is impeded, and the enterprize of our merchants checked, our manufactures must of course experience a proportionate decline. Under such circumstances, the whole scale of life will be lowered among us; and those who, though comparatively poor, yet can with industry, in consequence of an extended commerce, maintain their families in comfort, must become poorer; and every man in his situation be content to bear his share of that general calamity, with which this boasted progress of French freedom shall have over-whelmed this country.

Having

Having thus pointed out to you the character and design of the enemy whom we have to deal with, and the great interest which Englishmen have at stake, I proceed to say a short word on our present actual condition; that you may not be tempted to throw away realities, in foolishly catching after shadows.—“*I was well, I would be better, I took physic, and died.*”—Let Englishmen well consider this.

Theoretical perfection is oftentimes but the prelude to practical oppression. We are in actual possession of the best religion and best Government in the world. These inestimable blessings are to be continued to us only by firmness, temperance and perseverance in the Constitution sacred and civil which *now is*. Be it observed, moreover, that the stability of our Constitution is the only stability of all property, public and private.

We object not to Reform, considered as such; but we object, strongly object, to those who would undertake it. When by the word more is meant than meets the ear, every wise man will be upon his guard against it. We feel ourselves well as we are. Thus circumstanced, it would be a species of madness to put our Constitution under a severe regimen, the effect of which we cannot

foresee, and may live only to lament. Let these would-be-reformers but leave us in quiet possession of the choice fruit of our forefathers' wisdom, and we will not envy them their full repast upon the dry husks of modern freedom in France.

The pure doctrine of the Gospel is no where to be found in a more perfect state than among us. The law of the land is, what it ought to be, no respecter of persons. The house of the poor man is as much his castle, as the more stately edifice of the rich man is his. Neither tyranny nor oppression can with justice be complained of in a country, where the road to honour is open to all ranks in society, and where the poorest man, provided he be an industrious one, may eat as white bread as the squire of his village.

We hear much said, indeed, about grievances. But I believe those who make the greatest noise upon this subject would, if called upon, be at some loss to point them out. Murmurers there always will be: and those who are discontented themselves, because they have not all they want, wish to make the body of the people discontented also, that through their means they may attain the object they have in view.

We hear much talk also about liberty. It is a captivating sound, and we are apt to be imposed upon by it. But the natural man may have too much of it. If this subject was fairly tried, either by the laws of God or man, I am inclined to think, it would be found that such was not far from being the case with us at present.

But provisions are dear; trade is dead; manufactures are at a stand; it is with difficulty that our families are maintained; we cannot be worse off if the French should come. Such is occasionally the language of some of our common people. I have been grieved to hear it, because I am sorry to think that there can be any of my countrymen so totally unpossessed of wisdom.—But I would beg these thoughtless persons to consider, that if provisions are now dear, as they unquestionably are, will the landing of two hundred thousand hungry Frenchmen in this country, who will destroy ten times the quantity which they devour, make them cheaper? If trade is dead, and manufactures at a stand, will the admission of an enemy among us, whose principal object it is to destroy both, make matters better? The dearness of provisions, the deadness of trade, the stoppage of manufactures, are temporary evils, and the unavoidable consequences of war. Support the character of Englishmen, and

destroy those enemies, who will otherwise most assuredly destroy you, and all the evils, of which you now complain, will gradually vanish.

But to these real evils do not add imaginary ones, by suffering yourselves to be persuaded, that you are less free and happy than you are ; and thereby be led to complain of grievances which you do not feel. You are perhaps in a low condition of life. But do you think you can find any country in the world where all are rich, and none poor? Believe me, if you could, it would be but a very uncomfortable country to live in. Remember, that it is God, who has appointed the different ranks in society ; and that the welfare of mankind depends upon the duties of each being properly discharged. Any attempt, under an imaginary idea of improvement, to disorganize that system of moral Government, which God has established in the world, is to fight against God; and the attempt will never fail to be accompanied with the confusion, and consequent destruction, of all who are mad enough or weak enough to engage in it.

Inequality of conditions in society there ever must be, whilst God shall think fit to distribute his talents unequally. That democratic insanity therefore, as it has been properly called, which would

would equalize all property, and level all distinctions in civil society, is what, I trust, my countrymen will never be infected with. As Christians, let it be sufficient for your comfort, that, so far as that character is concerned, God is no respecter of persons; Heaven being as open to the poor man as it is to the rich one. If your thoughts, indeed, are confined to this world, you may with the worldly be intent only upon bettering your condition. But to what country will you go for that purpose? In what country is there so much attention paid to the poor as in that in which you live? Where do they constitute such an important class in society? Where will you find a national provision made for them in cases of sickness, and old age, and numerous families, at the expence of millions to the community, under the title of the Poor Rate? In consequence of which charitable establishment, every man may comfort himself, that however low he may be reduced in life, yet, thank God, in England, he cannot starve. In what other country in Europe will you find so many laudable establishments, for promoting the health of the body, and the salvation of the soul, as are to be found in this favoured land?

In a word, in what country does the spirit of Christianity, which teaches us to bear the burdens

dens of our fellow-creatures, operate more powerfully than in the country in which you live? I will mention but one instance, but that a striking one. In what country but your own would three thousand persecuted exiled Priests, of a religion hostile to our own, and of a nation now engaged in a destructive war against us, be received into the arms of sympathizing humanity, and maintained for years, amid all our distress, at the annual expence of more than half a million? And is this a country to be despised? Would you wish to exchange it for France, with all its boasted freedom?

“ We know what freedom, what equality of power among the citizens, what fraternity, what comfort, what happiness, and what security France has offered and given to all countries, who have either bowed voluntarily, or have been subjected to her tyranny.” And would you wish to groan under the slavery of imperious demagogues, whose word constitutes the only law? Or do you flatter yourselves, that after this haughty foe shall have been permitted to desolate your country, and thereby dry up the source of your present national prosperity, that they will leave you more free and happy than the miserable inhabitants of France now are? Will the French Directory, who would persuade you that they are coming

coming here upon the charitable business of redressing the grievances of, what they are pleased to call, an injured and enslaved nation ; will they, think ye, relieve all the distress that must necessarily be entailed upon their reforming process ? When by destroying our commerce, and putting a stop to our manufactures, they shall have rendered the estates of the country no longer able to bear the burden of an unemployed starving people, will these propagators of French liberty supply the deficiency of the Poor Rates, to which, in the worst of events, you now look for support ? In a word, will they who have starved their own countrymen, feed you, when in consequence of the general distress brought upon your country, you shall no longer be in a condition to feed yourselves ?

My countrymen, I am persuaded, have too much understanding to think they will ; and when they consider, that the common people of England have more consequence and, provided they are sober and industrious, more comfort and happiness, than the common people in any other country in the world, they will have too much wisdom to subject themselves to the trial : they will not consequently be imposed upon by fair speeches, but will be prepared to give them the reception which they deserve.

After

After such a statement, which speaks, I think, plain English to the plainest understanding, few more words will be necessary. You have been made acquainted with the character of your enemy. You have heard what desolation has been spread over every country, whose inhabitants have been weak enough to receive that enemy as their deliverer. You have heard his threats, and what are his immediate designs against this country. You have heard that the utmost vengeance is in reserve for England: and that nothing short of its complete destruction, will satisfy the pride and ambition of this cruel, envious and relentless foe. You know at the same time the advantages of which, as a nation, you are in actual possession. You well know therefore what you have to lose.

To Englishmen, I should hope, I scarce need say more: The cause, in which our enemies are engaged, is a desperate one. Our resistance of it must also be desperate, or our importance as a nation is lost. The people who are coming against us, are the declared enemies both of God and Man. They have taken up arms against Religion, Order and Government; and all Europe is on the point of sinking under their desolating tyranny. It is for the people of this nation, under the favour of that Divine Being,
" who

“ who bringeth to nought the counsels of the Heathen, and maketh the devices of the people of none effect,” to stop the progress of this Anti-Christian plague; and to become thereby, in God’s hands, the saviours of suffering humanity. But to this purpose, the spirit of a great nation must be called forth. Our pious Sovereign is prepared to shew the example. In imitation of good King Hezekiah, he has carried his complaint into the Temple, and spread it before the Lord. This done, he has declared his determination to abide the issue of the event; and to stand or fall by his people. And they must be the bastards, not the sons of Englishmen, who do not feel themselves ready to stand or fall by their King.

We have heard the threats of a gasconading and insulting foe. But we feel not appalled. Our soldiers are brave and loyal. They have been weighed in the balance and found sterling. Our sailors have recovered their national character.—Let the body of our people but prove true to themselves, and under God we have nothing to fear. Our confidence will be our strength; and our enemies shall fall before us.

although, alas ! we are not worthy to be called thy people.

But, Lord, we consider that the ways of man are under thy direction, and that human events tend but to the accomplishment of thy Divine will. In confidence, therefore, that Thou art the God that canst bring good out of evil, we look up to Thee in our present distress.— Grant, we beseech Thee, that the noise of war sounding around us may rouse a nation now sleeping, as it were, in the arms of luxury, dissipation and vice : That our princes, our nobles, our priests and our people weighing themselves in the balance of the sanctuary, may, each for himself, consider how far he, as an individual, has been accessory to the calamity of his country : That this nation, from the least to the greatest, may turn unto Thee in newness of life, and in a diligent use of those means of grace, which can alone lead to a reconciliation with their God.

And if those, who feel themselves pressed down with the weight of their own sins, may presume to pray for others, look down, O Lord, we beseech Thee, with an eye of pity, upon that wild and infatuated people, whom Thou hast permitted

permitted to become the scourge of every surrounding nation. Let the light of thy truth, which has long been banished from among them, again shine forth upon their land ; that the inhabitants of it, returning into the way of peace, may be humbled in the dust before thy Divine Majesty ; and dropping that arm of proud defiance, which they have dared to lift against Heaven, may learn this Christian lesson, that it is neither mad conquest, nor vain triumph, but righteousness alone, that exalteth a nation.— Hear this our imperfect prayer, O merciful Lord God, we most humbly beseech Thee, for Jesus' sake. **AMEN.**

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